

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00
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AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 2156

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, HU, XG, XH, UR
SUBJECT: EUROCOMMUNISM AND THE HSWP HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

REF: (A) 76 BUDAPEST 3796; (B) BUDAPEST 0305; (C) PRAGUE
1689; (D) FBIS 241510Z JUN 77

1. SUMMARY: DESPITE (1) RECENT NOVOYE VREMYA ATTACK ON
PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED BY SPANISH COMMUNIST LEADER SANTIAGO
CARILLO IN HIS NEW BOOK, (2) APPARENT SOVIET ENDORSEMENT OF
CZECH ATTACKS ON EUROCOMMUNISM (REF C), AND (3) BREZHNEV
SHUNNING PCF LEADER MARCHAIS DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO FRANCE;
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HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (HSWP) LEADERSHIP CONTINUES
TO MAINTAIN ITS POSITION THAT ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES MAY
PROFIT FROM HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF HSWP AND OTHER
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND PERSISTS - TO USE PRIME MINISTER
LAZAR'S WORDS (REF D) - "IN SOLIDARITY WITH COMMUNIST
PARTIES OPERATING IN CAPITALIST WORLD." THIS HSWP POSITION
IS ALLEDGED BY HUNGARIANS TO BE TOTALLY COMPATIBLE WITH LAVISH

RECOGNITION OF SOVIET EXPERIENCE AND CONDEMNATION OF ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITY. IT NEVERTHELESS PROBABLY REFLECTS HSWP DESIRE TO PRESERVE ITS OWN OPTIONS FOR DEVELOPING COMMUNISM AT HOME IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS OWN HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE.
END SUMMARY.

2. HSWP UNDERSTANDING OF WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WAS FIRST CLEARLY UTTERED LAST WINTER IN NOVEMBER CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE, BY KADAR IN HIS VIENNA PRESS CONFERENCE AND IN JANUARY 77 ARTICLE IN PEACE AND SOCIALISM, THOUGH IT WAS NOT IN CONFLICT WITH POSITION IMPLICITLY TAKEN BY HSWP AT 1976 BERLIN CP'S CONFERENCE. KADAR RECENTLY REPEATED HSWP POSITION DURING PRESS CONFERENCE JUNE 9 IN ROME. THERE HE SAID, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT HE WISHES WESTERN EUROPEAN CP'S SUCCESS IN OPENING SOCIALIST ROAD FOR PEOPLE "WHETHER BY DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT OR WITHOUT IT, WHETHER REALIZING PLURALIST OR SOME OTHER KIND OF SOCIALISM."

3. IN ADDRESS TO WARSAW CEMA SECCION ON JUNE 21, HUNGARIAN PRIME MINISTER LAZAR, WHILE GIVING INTERNATIONALISM EQUAL VALIDITY, MADE REMARK QUOTED PARA ONE ABOVE AND QUOTED KADAR TO CEMA DELEGATS WITH REGARD TO EQUALITY, INDEPENDENCE AND VOLUNTARY COOPERATION OF FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES. HE ALSO NOTED THAT "INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES UTILIZED WHILE TAKING ACCOUNT OF NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS ARE INDISPENSABLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS."
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4. FINALLY, JUNE 29, NEPSZABADSAG REPORTS REMARKS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY IMRE GYORI ON JUNE 28 AT JUBILEE CONFERENCE OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM PERIODICAL IN PRAGUE TO EFFECT THAT HSWP BUILDS ITS OWN HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE, MAKING USE OF THE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN BY FRATERNAL PARTIES; IT LEARNED AND IS LEARNING FROM EVERY REVOLUTIONARY FORCE.

5. ABOVE CHRONOLOGY OF STATEMENTS SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT HSWP IS CONTINUING TO MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY WITH EUROCOMMUNISTS AND TO UNDERScore IMPORTANCE OF HSWP'S OWN EXPERIENCE, WHILE AT SAME TIME EXTOLLING ROLE AND EXPERIENCE OF CPSU. HSWP POSITION HAS BEEN WIDELY PUBLICIZED IN HUNGARY RENDERING IT DIFFICULT BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HUNGARIANS TO REVERSE THEIR STAND IN NEAR FUTURE. THEY MAY BE INDUCED BY SOVIETS TO SOFT PEDDLE THEIR PUBLIC REMARKS ALTHOUGH, SO FAR, THERE IS NO SIGN OF THIS.

6. HUNGARIANS HAVE UNCHARACTERISTICALLY DIVERGED FROM COMPLETE SOLIDARITY WITH SOVIET UNION ON THIS FOREIGN POLICY - RELATED ISSUE. REASON MAY WELL BE BECAUSE THEY WISH TO PERSERVE THEIR RIGHT TO PURSUE THEIR OWN CHARACTERISTIC

PATH TO BUILDING A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY.
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